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ON THE JEWISH AUTHORSHIP OF THE TESTA-
MENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

IN the autumn of 1891 the present writer, being at Edschmiadzin in Armenia, took occasion to copy by photography, from an old Bible belonging to the Catholicos, the old Armenian Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, by a comparison of which with the Greek text, he hoped to throw fresh light on the vexed question of the true authorship of that remarkable group of Apocrypha. In the spring of last year he undertook to collate the version for the new edition of his Greek Text, which Mr. Sinker, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is preparing. The latter kindly procured for his use an Armenian MS. Bible belonging to Lord Zouche, without which the photographs, owing to the minute scale on which they reproduced the pages of the Edschmiadzin Bible, would scarcely have been readable throughout, and would in any case have severely taxed the eyes. The results of a careful comparison of the version with the Greek text are so interesting that some general account of them may perhaps be attempted before the writer's detailed collation of the Armenian text appears in Mr. Sinker's new edition as an additional chapter to the full and careful *apparatus criticus* which he has already compiled in his edition of 1869 from Greek MSS. in the libraries of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of the Vatican, and of the Greek Monastery of Patmos.

The form in which the Greek text stands in the manuscripts, and in which through the Latin translation of Robert Grosse-Teste, Bishop of Lincoln, made A.D. 1242, it was circulated all over Europe, seems to warrant Mr. Sinker's conclusion (Preface, p. xvii.) as to the book, "that

it certainly was written not later than the middle of the second century, and perhaps before the end of the first, that it consequently is to be reckoned among the earliest monuments of Christian literature, possibly posterior to the writings of the Apostles alone." He justly complains "that the evidence thus to be obtained as to the date of the books of the New Testament, to say nothing of the fund of illustration of their language, should have been almost entirely neglected." Let us take a few passages which seem to warrant the above position. Our first shall be from the Testament of Reuben, ch. vi., who on his death-bed is made to address his sons and brethren as follows: (A) "Wherefore I bid you to hearken unto Levi, forasmuch as he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give injunctions for judgment and sacrifices on behalf of all Israel, until the completion of times of the high priest Christ, of whom the Lord spake. I adjure you by the God of heaven to work truth each unto his neighbour; and unto Levi draw ye nigh in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, for that the Lord hath chosen to rule in him over all peoples. And render ye homage to his seed, because he shall die for our sake in wars, visible and invisible, and shall be among you an everlasting king." The testament of Simeon (ch. vii.) supplies another such passage: (B) "And now, my children, hearken unto Levi, and in Judah shall ye be ransomed. Exalt not yourselves against these two tribes, because out of them shall arise for you the salvation of God. For the Lord shall raise up out of Levi as it were a high-priest, and out of Judah as it were a king, God and man. He shall save all nations and the race of Israel." The second chapter of the Will of Levi supplies us with a third passage. Levi has been raised into heaven in a vision: (C) "And the Angel said unto me, Be not surprised at these things For thou shalt stand near unto the Lord, and shalt be his minister, and shalt tell forth his mysteries unto men, *and shalt*

announce him who is to ransom Israel. And, by means of thee and of Judah shall the Lord be seen among men, *saving in his own person the whole race of men*; and from the portion of the Lord shall be thy life (or living), and he shall be thy field, thy vineyard, thy fruits, thy gold and silver."

The fourth chapter of the same Testament contains the following striking words: (D) "Now therefore know ye that the Lord will work judgment upon the sons of men; for the rocks shall be rent, and the sun quenched, and the waters shall be dried up, and the fire shall crouch and cower; all creation shall be shaken, and the unseen spirits shall melt away, and hell shall be despoiled at the suffering of the Highest (ἐπὶ πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου); and yet men will disbelieve and abide in their wrong-doing, and on account thereof be judged with punishment. Therefore the Highest heard thy prayer, to rescue thee from injustice, that thou shouldst become unto him a son and servant and minister of his countenance. Thou shalt light up in Jacob a bright light; and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel, and blessing shall be given to thee and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all the nations in the compassion of his Son for ever. Except that thy sons shall lay hands on him, to crucify him (ἀποσκολοπίσαι). And therefore hath there been given to thee good counsel and wisdom, in order to make thy sons wise about this (or 'him'). For he that blesseth him shall be blessed, and they that curse him shall be destroyed." The close connection of the above with St. Matt. xxvii. 45-53, hardly requires to be pointed out.

In the same connection must be quoted ch. x. of the same Testament: (E) "Now therefore treasure up all my commands unto you, my children; for I have told unto you all that I heard from my fathers. I am innocent of all your impiety and transgression, which ye shall commit at the close of the ages unto the Saviour of the world, working impiety, leading Israel astray and arousing against him great evils from the Lord. And ye shall break the law with Israel, so that Jerusalem bear not (μὴ βαστάξαι) from the

face of your wrong-doing, but shall rend the vail of the Temple (*σχίσαι τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ναοῦ*), so as not to conceal your unseemliness. And ye shall be scattered prisoners among the nations; and ye shall be for a reproach, and for a curse, and as that which is trodden under foot. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is written in the book of Enoch the Just."

In ch. xviii. of the same Testament we also meet with the following: (F) "The heavens shall delight in the days of him, the New Priest, to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed, and who shall execute the judgment of truth upon the earth in the fulness of days; and the earth shall rejoice, and the clouds be gladdened, and the knowledge of the Lord be spread over the earth, as the water of the seas. And the angels of the glory of the face of the Lord shall rejoice in him. The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory there shall come upon him consecration (*ἀγίασμα*) with fatherly voice (*μετὰ φωνῆς πατρικῆς*), as from Abraham, father of Isaac. And glory of the Highest shall be spoken over him, and a spirit of wisdom and consecration (*ἀγιασμοῦ*) shall rest upon him in the water. He shall give the majesty of the Lord unto his sons in truth unto time everlasting. And there shall not be a successor (*διαδοχῇ*) unto him (or 'of him') unto generations and generations for ever. And during his priesthood all sin shall come to an end, and the lawless shall cease from their wrong-doing; but the just shall rest in him. And he will open the doors of Paradise, and will stay the sword which threateneth Adam, and will give to his saints to eat of the tree of life, and a spirit of consecration (*ἀγίωσύνῃ*) shall be upon them. And Beliar shall be bound by him, and he will give authority to his children to trample upon the evil spirits."

The next passage which should be quoted is from the Testament of Dan, ch. v.: (G) "There shall arise for you out of the tribes of Judah and Levi the salvation of the Lord. And he will make war against Beliar . . . and he

will take away from Beliar his captives, the souls of his holy ones, and will turn again the unbelieving hearts unto the Lord, and will give to those who call upon him eternal peace ; and the holy ones shall rest in Eden, and the just shall rejoice over the new Jerusalem, which shall be for the glorification of God for ever. And no more doth Jerusalem endure desolation, neither is Israel taken captive ; because the Lord is in the midst of her, living familiarly with men, the holy one of Israel, reigning over them in humility and in poverty. And he that believeth on him shall reign in truth in heaven."

One last passage we will adduce, before proceeding to a discussion of the Armenian version. It is from ch. vii. of the testament of Aser: (H) "Be ye not, my children, as the men of Sodom, who knew not the angels of the Lord, and perished for ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and shall be given over into the hands of your enemies ; and your land shall be made desolate, and ye shall be scattered to the four corners of the earth ; and in your dispersion ye shall be held of no account, even as unprofitable water ; until the Highest visit the earth, having come even in his own person as man, eating and drinking with men, and in peace bruising the head of the serpent by means of water, He shall save Israel and all the nations, God assuming the guise of man" (*θεὸς εἰς ἄνδρα ὑποκρινόμενος*).

The series of passages just cited do not, perhaps, exemplify the general tone and drift of the Testaments ; but are rather Christological excrescences, which cannot, indeed, be always separated with ease from the text, and yet are not quite in necessary accord with much that it contains ; for the predominant tone of the Testaments is one of trenchant Hebrew patriotism, combined, however, with the most fervent zeal for simplicity of heart and purity of life. As Mr. Sinker well says : "Noticeable, in the first place, is the strong Israelite feeling which animates the writer. His affectionate clinging to the old polity is shown by the way in which he connects the Messiah, not only with the tribe

of Judah, but also with that of Levi ; thus he is high priest as well as king." The present writer is inclined to go farther than this, and say that in reading these Testaments, as a whole, there is next to nothing which makes him feel that they were written by one who was a Christian, or knew even indirectly of the historic Jesus of Nazareth, so far forth as the real life and character of the latter can be discerned from the Gospels ; and yet the style of the Greek in which the Testaments are written forbids us to date the book much later than the end of the first century, when we might expect to find, in any genuine writing of a follower of and believer in Jesus of Nazareth some touches, at least some traces, of his historic life lived as a man among his fellow-men ; and this we would expect even though the statements of the book are all couched in the prophetic mood characteristic of apocryphal writers.

Johannes Ernestus Grabius, who published the Testaments in his *Spicilegium SS. Patrum* (Oxonix, editio altera, 1714), felt these considerations to be so weighty, that he pronounced the Testaments to be the work of a Jewish writer living in pre-Christian times. He pointed out that the style in which they are written is that of a work translated from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. In the Bodleian Codex, MS. 75, there is actually a Latin notice that the book was translated from Hebrew into Greek by Johannes Chrysostomus. This is, of course, impossible, as the Greek is Hellenistic ; but yet the notice may embody an old and sound tradition. It is further noticed by Grabius, that in some ancient authorities the Testaments are referred to as a Jewish apocryph, along with the book of Enoch and the Testament of Moses ; and this is confirmed by the position which it generally occupies in the Armenian Bible, in which it comes after Genesis, and immediately before the book of Joseph and Asenath. In regard to many of the Christological passages, Grabius points out that they can be paralleled in Rabbinical tradition ; and in a valuable note on the 5th chapter of the Testament of Dan, he adduces several

such parallels. In his introduction he also examines and rejects the theory of the Christian origin of several passages which at first sight seem to be distinctly Christological. He denies, for example, that a Christian could have penned the passage we have already cited from the Testament of Reuben: "He shall die for you in wars visible and invisible, and shall be for you a king of the ages." In the same way, in regard to the passage, "The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory there shall come upon him holiness, with a father's voice as from Abraham, father of Isaac," he points out that a Christian writer, referring to the incident related in Matt. iii. 16, 17, could not have added the last five words.

The hypothesis of Grabius that the Testaments are a Jewish document, pre-Christian, but interpolated at an early date by Christians, perhaps by the very hand which turned them from Hebrew into Greek, has not been received with favour by subsequent editors. Thus Prudentius Maranus, in his work, *De Divin. D. N. J. C. Manifesta in Scripturis et Traditionibus*, Lib. II. cap. i., sec. 4, writes as follows of Grabius' opinion: "Haec eruditi viri opinio levissimis conjecturis nititur. Nihil enim in hoc opere insincerum et interlitum apparet, nihil quod non proposito conducat." Gallandius also in his *Dissertation*, reprinted in Migne, Patrol. Gr., Vol. II., p. 1,034, writes as follows: "Loca enim quae ad Novum Testamentum spectant de Christi Divinitate atque aliis Christianae religionis capitibus, si e medio tollantur, concidat opusculum illud necesse est. Quid quod ab una manu omnia in hoc opere perscripta esse vel inde liquet . . . quod eadem styli ratio ubique spiret, cunctaque uno tenore aequabiliter fluant." And to Grabius' objection that there is much in the Testaments that is repugnant to Christianity, the same writer replies thus: "Haud equidem repugnaverim. At nihil mirum, si more Judaico subinde loquatur scriptor iste Christianus; quem opus suum eo consilio confecisse constat, quo Iudaei facilius excipient quae de Christo

eiisque doctrina passim inculcat." This is also the verdict of Mr. Sinker, who argues strongly the conclusion that the Testaments are the work of a Nazarene Christian, who also knew and approved of the work of St. Paul as Apostle of the Gentiles. He states his reason for dating them between A.D. 70 and 135 in the following words: "The author's allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem assign to the Testaments a date subsequent to this event . . . this will harmonise with what is the natural inference from several passages, namely, that Gentiles now formed a majority in Christendom, and also with the presence of the many formulae to express the Incarnation, and with the apparent collection of the sacred books of Christianity into one volume. All this points to the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century."

It is clearly a matter of some importance whether we have in the Testaments a document written by Christians at so early a date, and containing a reference to the collected New Testament, or whether we have in them simply a pre-Christian apocryph, which was at some date, we know not when, adopted and adapted to their needs by Christians. The latter was the view, as we have seen, of the seventeenth-century Oxford scholar Græbuis; and it will go far to confirm his hypothesis, beside proving his remarkable critical sagacity, if there can be produced a text, earlier than any yet known of these Testaments, in which the passages upon which those have mainly relied who have upheld the Christian authorship, will be found to be, many of them, altogether lacking, the place of many others occupied by passages of a tendency not distinctly Christian, and often even essentially pre-Christian and Jewish. In the ancient Armenian version we have preserved to us exactly such a text.

This version, to judge it by style and phraseology, was made in the fifth or sixth century; but the text of it is more corrupt, and has altogether suffered more at the hands of time and of scribes, than the Armenian version of

the Old Testament, which dates from the middle of the fifth century. Many of its omissions are due to similar endings of sentences, either in the original Greek, in which case they may be attributed to carelessness on the part of the translator; or in the version itself, in which case they may be ascribed to Armenian copyists. But the mass of its omissions do not impair the sense, and are not attributable to this cause; and must therefore be reckoned to the Greek text used by the translator. Let us now show how in a series of significant passages the Armenian departs from the received Greek text. They will be seen to be all of them passages of what we may call Christological import; and, indeed, except in such passages, the Armenian seldom indicates any serious departure of its original from one or the other of the manuscripts collated in Mr. Sinker's edition. The first of these passages we have already given (A); we now give part of it again. In the left-hand column we print the Greek text of Mr. Sinker. In the right-hand column opposite we give the Greek text implied by the version. We only cite the important words:

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| <p>(A) ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἀκούειν τοῦ Λευὶ, ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσεται νόμον κυρίου, καὶ διαστελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν καὶ θυσίας, ὑπὲρ παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ, μέχρι τελειώσεως χρόνων ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ, ὃν εἶπε Κύριος.</p> | <p>ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἀκούειν τοῦ Λευὶ. ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσεται νόμον Κυρίου καὶ διατελεσεῖ εἰς κρίσιν καὶ δικαιώματα καὶ θυσιάσει ὑπὲρ παντὸς Ἰσραὴλ, μέχρι τελειώσεως χρόνων, ἱερατεύειν τῷ κλήρῳ κήρυκος ὃν εἶπε Κύριος.</p> |
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In the rest of this passage (A) there is no difference between the Armenian and the Greek text.

In (B) the Armenian indicates no change. The phrase *θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος* has, indeed, a Christian ring about it, and is exactly rendered in the Armenian. But it is just the similar passage in Test. Dan v., to which Græbius (*Spicilegium*, Vol. II., p. 359) has adduced Jewish parallels from

the Midrash Vajikra and from Isaiah xxxv. 4: "Unde constat," is his conclusion as to Dan v., "hanc traditionem universe fere inter Iudaeos receptam fuisse, ac proinde ea, quae in Testamento Dan dicto loco leguntur, a Iudaeo scribi potuisse, licet Deitas Messiae per manifestam consequentiam inde deduci queat. Neque obstat," he continues, "quod Auctor noster dicat Dominum, aeternae redemptionis atque salutis auctorem, *in humilitate et paupertate super eos regnaturum*. Nam hoc expresse docet Zacharias, cap. ix. v. 9, Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi iustus et Salvator, pauper et equitans super asinum." In the immediate sequel he quotes several Talmudic sources in favour of his view. In the third of the Messianic passages already quoted (C), the Armenian reads, instead of the words, "*shalt announce him who is to ransom Israel*," the following, "*shalt announce the salvation of Israel*." The words which follow, "*saving in his own person the whole race of man*," are wholly omitted in the Armenian, without any mutilation of the sense. The fourth passage (D) which we have quoted from the Will of Levi is found in the Armenian virtually unchanged; from which we may conclude with much probability that it belongs to the earliest and pre-Christian form of the Apocrypha; the more so as it occurs in the middle of the Testament, and not at the end, where come most of the Messianic passages. If this surmise be true, it would seem as if we had found out that which lies immediately at the back of the narrative of St. Matt. xxvii. 45-58. It may be argued, however, that this is an interpolation also, and with some plausibility, seeing that so much interpolation is, with the help of the Armenian, demonstrable in the rest of the Testaments. If so, we have in the Armenian only an earlier stage of the text, a stage at which interpolation had already begun, but not gone so far as it has in the Greek manuscripts. It may be argued, however, on the other side, that if this passage (D) had been written under the influence of Matt. xxvii. we should have had the word *ἀνασταυρώω* used, instead of *ἀποσκολοπίζω*, which nowhere occurs in the New

Testament, though Philo Judaeus uses it in the sense of "crucify." Nor must it be overlooked that the signs and wonders here prophesied are just those which popular fancy among the Jews would associate with the suffering and death of the promised Messiah.¹ The next passage (E) also exists without any material change in the Armenian. Whether we should accept it or reject it as part of the original text of the Apocryph must depend to some extent upon whether similar passages can be adduced or not from indisputably pre-Christian Apocryphs. The next passage (F) also occurs in the Armenian, but with some trifling changes. For example, *πρὸς* is read for *πατρός*, so as to make the sense, "as from Abraham to Isaac." This passage, it is interesting to note, is one of those which Græbner reckons to be Jewish, in spite of its New Testament ring: "Coelis apertis," he writes, "spiritum sanctum super Christum descendisse cum voce Dei patris 'Hic est filius meus dilectus,' omnes fideles norunt; sed vocem istam ab Abrahamo, patre Isaaci et Christi secundum carnem, profectam fuisse nullus eorum, qui evangelio fidem prae-buerunt, scribere potuit." With true candour, however, he adds: "Contra fateor, priora de coelis apertis ac spiritu descendente verba, Christiano potius quam Judæo convenire, ac similiter in aliis testamentis reperiri talia, quae obscuris Judæorum umbris clariora videntur." As, then, in the former passage (E) the words *ὥστε μὴ κατακαλύπτειν ἀσχημοσύνην ὑμῶν* seem to preclude the supposition that the rending of the Temple-vail is here a Christian reference, so now in (F) the addition, *ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ πατρός Ἰσαακ*, precludes a similar supposition. The next passages (G and H) are also found in the Armenian² without material change; but (H) again, is precisely the passage of which

¹ *E.g.*, in the newly-found fragment of Enoch (*Memoires de la Mission Archeologique Française*, Tome IX., Paris, 1892), ch. i. 1, and in the ἀνάλυσις of Moses in the old Latin Version.

² Not however in the Armenian Text of the Venice MS. See the note appended to this article.

Grabius wrote as follows (*Spicel.*, p. 139): "Quod attinet alia, quae contra non Judaicam ignorantiam, sed Christianam revelationem sapiunt, jam supra dixi ea forte addita, sicque Testamenta XII. Patriarcharum a Christiano quopiam interpolata quidem, non autem primo condita esse; quamquam in his haud pauca sint Messiam concernentia, quae primo intuitu non nisi a Christiano manu prodiisse videntur, et tamen ab antiquo Judaeo scribi potuisse inde colligitur, quod in ipsis recentiorum Rabbīnorum monumentis eadem occurrant. Sic V. G. in Testamento Dan, cap. v. . . . Quibus verbis cum Deitas Messiae adstrui videatur, ista nonnisi a Christiano scripta, poterat aliquis existimare. Et ecce habemus tamen traditionem Rabbīnicam, quae idem plane sonat." We may add that the idea presented in Aser vii. (H) of God appearing in human form, sitting at table, and eating and drinking with mankind, was already familiar to the Hebrew mind from the narrative of Gen. xviii., in commenting upon which Philo severely reproves those who believed that the Divine Being really ate and drank on this occasion. In passages which harbinger the Docetism of a later day, he explains that God, who then appeared to Abraham as an unity in trinity, only created in the minds of his earthly entertainers the semblance of eating and drinking.¹

¹ Phil. Jud. de Abr., c. xxii. Τότε μοι δοκεῖ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐθ' ὁμοίαν τῶν ὀρωμένων λαβεῖν φαντασίαν, ἀλλὰ σεμινοτίραν, ἢ προφητῶν τινῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων μεταβαλλόντων ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς καὶ ψυχοειδοῦς οὐσίας εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον ἰδίαν. Idem, c. xxiii. : ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μακαριότητος εἶναι φῶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ καταχθῆναι καὶ ξενίων λαχεῖν ὑπέμειναν ἄγγελοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἱεραὶ καὶ θείαι φύσεις, ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ ὑπαρχοὶ τοῦ πρῶτου θεοῦ. . . . Τεράστιον δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ πεινῶντας πεινῶντων καὶ μὴ ἐσθιόντας ἐσθιόντων παρέχειν φαντασίαν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε ὡς ἀκόλουθα, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἐκείνο τερατωδέστατον, ἀσωμάτους ὄντας τούτους σώματος εἰς ἰδίαν ἀνθρώπων μεμορφῶσθαι χάριτι τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀστείον. In the Qu. in Gen., Sermo iv., sec. 2, Philo indicates that it was God Himself who thus appeared: "Oculus itaque factus, incipit videre dominicam, sanctam, divinamque visionem, eo modo ut unica visio appareret ei sicut Trinitas, et Trinitas sicut Unitas." And again in § 8: "Ita ut, veraciter ac proprie loquendo mensura universorum, tam intelligibilium, quam sen-

We will now take some passages of a very Christological type, not yet adduced, and see how they appear in the Armenian. The first is ch. xxii. of the Testament of Judah, and we give it in the faithful Latin of Grosse Teste: (I) "Inducet autem eis Dominus divisiones inter se, et bella continua erunt in Israel, et in alienigenis consummabitur regnum meum, donec veniet salutare Israel, usque ad adventum (*παρουσίας*) Dei justitiae, ut quiescat Iacob in pace, et omnes gentes. Et ipse custodiet potestatem regni mei usque in seculum. Iuramento enim iuravit mihi Dominus, non defecturum regnum meum e semine meo, omnibus diebus usque in seculum." In the Armenian we read: "Inducet autem Dominus eis divisiones inter sese et bella continua in Israel et in alieigenis. Et consummabitur regnumeorum donec veniet salutare (Ven. Text *regnum*) Israel. Et tunc veniet Iacob in pace, et ipse custodiet potestatem regni mei usque in seculum. Iuramento enim iuravit mihi Dominus non defecturum regnum seminis mei, usque in seculum." The advantages of recovering an old text are exemplified by this passage, of which Mr. Sinker very cautiously wrote as follows (p. 98): "Judah tells his children, 'Among the Gentiles shall my kingdom be consummated, until the salvation shall have come to Israel, until the appearing of the God of Righteousness to give quietness in peace to Jacob and all nations.' Now it is perfectly true here that the dreaded clause, *ἕως παρουσίας τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης* may, as Vorstman says, be omitted without any dislocation of the text; but it is surely a slender argument for doubting the genuineness of a sentence that, if omitted, the passage will still run on unbroken." Now the words in question are exactly those which the Armenian omits, and the reference to the Gentiles in the Greek, so Christian and comprehensive in its tone, becomes in the Armenian no less

sibulum, unus est Deus, qui in ipsa Unitate Trinitati similis apparet ob videndum infirmitatem." St. Ambrose, following Philo Judaeus, accepts this passage of Genesis as a proof of the mystery of the Trinity (S. Ambros. Op., Lib. I., De Abrah., c. v., n. 33).

Jewish and exclusive, and is therefore, so to speak, turned upside down.

In the next chapter we read the following: (J) “Falias vestras cantatrices (*μουσικὰς*) et publicas (*δημοσίας*) facietis, et immiscebimini abominationibus gentium; pro quibus ducet dominus super vos famem et pestilentiam, mortem et gladium, ulciscensem obsidionem, et canes in dilanationem, inimicorum et amicorum opprobria; perditionem et tabem oculorum, puerorum occisionem et uxorū ablationem, possessionum rapinam, terræ desolationem, *templi dei incendium* (*ἐμπυρισμὸν*), vestri ipsorum servitutem in gentibus; et excident e vobis eunuchos uxoribus suis.” Here the only material change in the Armenian text is the omission of the words in italics; with the disappearance of which there also goes one of the arguments for putting the date of the composition of the Testaments after the taking of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. The reference to the eunuchising of the captive Jews for the use of the harems of the conquerors may indicate that the taking of Jerusalem in B.C. 170 by Antiochus Epiphanes, or in 133 B.C. by Antiochus Sidetes is the event really referred to. In a Christian document covertly referring to the capture by the Romans under Titus, such words would anyhow be impossible. The statement that “Ye shall make your daughters into musicians and public women” suits better with the incipient paganism of the Jews, against which the revolt of the Maccabees was a protest, than with any events which preceded the revolt of Bar-Kokheba. The rending of the vail of the temple as referred to in the Testaments may also quite well relate to the profanation committed either by the Antiochi or by Pompey in B.C. 63.

We will next exhibit and contrast the Greek and the Armenian texts of the twenty-fourth chapter of the will of Judah:

(K) “Et post hæc orietur vobis astrum ex Iacob in pace, et exsurget homo ex semine meo, ut sol iustitiæ, ambulans cum filiis hominum in mansuetudine et iustitia,

et quidquam peccati non inveniatur in eo. Et aperientur super eum coeli ad effundendam spiritus benedictionem Patris sancti. Et ipse effundet spiritum gratiæ super vos et eritis ei filii in veritate. Et ambulabitis in praeceptis illius primis et ultimis. Hic est germen Dei altissimi, et hic est fons in vitam omnis carnis. Tunc refulgebit sceptrum regni mei et a radice vestra nascetur propago. Et in eo adscendet virga justitiæ gentibus, ut judicet et salvet omnes invocantes dominum."

Armenian text: "Et post haec orietur astrum in pace et justitia. Et aperientur propter hoc (Ven. Text *illi*) coeli, et effundentur benedictiones patris sancti. Et ipse effundet super vos spiritum gratiae, et eritis in adoptionem veritatis (= *εἰς υἰοθεσίαν ἀληθείας*) et ambulabitis in praeceptis illius primis et secundis. Tunc egredietur germen ex me ipso et effulgebit sceptrum regni et a radice vestra nascetur propago. Et ex eo adscendet," etc.

In the Testament of Zebulon, the seventh chapter, and the first few lines of the eighth, are omitted both in the Armenian and in the Bodleian MS. This seventh chapter is not in any way a Christological one, and the omission may be accidental. Nor are the first lines of the eighth chapter, though Messianic, other than may have been written by a Jew in pre-Christian times.

In the ninth chapter, however, we have the following in the Greek books: (L) "Et post haec orietur vobis ipse dominus, lumen iustitiae, et sanitas et misericordia in pennis eius. Ipse redimet omnem captivitatem filiorum hominum a Beliar, et omnis spiritus erroris conculcabitur; et convertet omnes gentes in aemulationem ejus, et videbitis Deum in forma hominis, quem elegerit Deus Hierusalem nomen ei."

In the Armenian the above appears as follows: "Et post haec oriri faciet ipse Dominus lumen iustitiae. Et redibitis in terram vestram, et videbitis Dominum in Hierusalem." This is again the reading of the Bodleian codex, except that that adds the words: "Propter nomen eius."

In the Will of Joseph, chap. xix., the Greek books read as follows: (M) "Audite, filii mei, et quae vidi somnia. Duodecim cervi pascebantur, et novem divisi erant et dispersi in terra; similiter et tres. Et vidi quod ex Iuda nata est virgo, habens stolam byssinam; et ex ipsa prodiit agnus immaculatus, et a sinistris eius, ut leo; et omnes bestiae impetum fecerunt in eum, et vicit eas agnus, et perdidit eas in conculcationem. Et gaudebant in eo angeli et homines et omnis terra. Haec autem fient in tempore suo, in ultimis diebus. Vos igitur, filii mei, custodite mandata Domini, et honorate Iudam et Levi; quoniam ex ipsis orietur vobis Agnus Dei, gratia salvans omnes gentes et Israel. Regnum enim eius regnum eternum, quod non commovebitur."

The Armenian gives the sense as follows: "Audite ergo somnium quod vidi. Duodecim cervos videbam pascentes, sed ex iis novem dispersi sunt; tres autem salvabantur. Atque mane etiam illi dispersi sunt. Et videbam quod tres cervi tres agni fiebant et clamaverunt ad Dominum, et eduxit illos e tenebris in lucem, et eduxit illos in locum herba viridem et aquis scatentem. Et illic clamaverunt ad Dominum, donec congregati sunt ad ipsos novem cervi, et facti sunt illi veluti duodecim oves; et post parvum tempus aucti sunt, et facti sunt greges magnae. Post hoc videbam, et ecce duodecim iuveni pascebantur una vacca, quae ex pollente lacte mare faciebat, et bibebant inde duodecim greges et innumerabilia pecora, et quarti iuveni exaltata sunt cornua usque ad coelos, et fiebant murus gregis, et in medio cornuum ortum est (—*or* effulsit—) aliud cornu. Et videbam vitulum duodecimum iterum (*or* duodecimam vicem?), circumdabat illos, et factus est iuvenecus universum in auxilium. Et videbam in medio cornuum virginem, quae habebat tunicam versicolore (ποικιλὸς) et ex eadem egrediebatur agnus, et ex sinistra parte eius impetum faciebant omnes ferae et omnia reptilia, sed vicit eos agnus et destruxit eos. Et gavisii sunt propter eum vituli, et vacca, et cervi gavisii sunt una

cum illa. Et hoc necesse est evenire in tempore suo. Sed, vos filii mei, honorate Levi et Iudam, quoniam ex illis orietur salutare Israel."

At the end of the third chapter of the Testament of Benjamin the Greek books have the following: (N) "Et amplexans Iosephum Iacob per duas horas osculabatur eum, dicens: adimplebitur in te prophetia coeli de agno dei et salvatore mundi, quod immaculatus pro iniquis tradetur, et qui sine peccato est pro impiis morietur, in sanguine Testamenti, in salutem Israel et gentium, et destruet Beliar et ministrantes ei."

In the Armenian, however, we read the above as follows: "Et amplexans Iosephum Iacob osculabatur eum per tres horas, dicens adimplebitur in te coelestis prophetia quae dicit quod immaculatus pro iniquis polluetur, et qui sine peccato est pro impiis morietur."

(O) In ch. ix. of the Testament of Benjamin we read in the Greek books thus: καὶ δώδεκα φυλαὶ ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἕως οὗ ὃ ὑψιστος ἀποστείλῃ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ μονογενοῦς. καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον ναὸν, καὶ ἐκεῖ Κύριος ὑβρισθήσεται, καὶ ἐξουθενωθήσεται, καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου ὑψωθήσεται. καὶ ἔσται τὸ ἅπλωμα τοῦ ναοῦ σχιζόμενον, καὶ καταβήσεται τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὡς πῦρ ἐκχυνόμενον. καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄδου ἔσται ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. Ἔγνων δὲ οἶος ἔσται ταπεινὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ οἶος ἔνδοξος ἐν οὐρανῷ. In the Armenian we have a passage of rather different complexion, namely: καὶ δώδεκα φυλαὶ ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ Κύριος ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐξουθενώσεται καὶ ἔσται μεταβαίνων (so Bodleian Codex, Arm. = "mutabitur") ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, ἥ καὶ ὅ,τι δὴ οὖν μέτρον αὐτοῦ ἡ τόπος ὁδοῦ.

Before we attribute this short form of the text to the hand of a Christian, we may very properly take to heart the warning which Grabius addresses to his readers in regard to this passage (M) which we have already quoted, and to the passage (P) which we shall next quote.

His warning is as follows, and it of course regards these passages in the form in which the Greek books have them: "Necnon de nativitate Messiae ex virgine, deque eius passione, morte et resurrectione tam ipsius quam aliorum sanctorum una cum illo, denique de adscensione eius in coelum testimonia rabbinorum istis, quae in Testamentis Patriarcharum dicuntur, parallela subinde afferam. Quae ubi quis consideraverit, non adeo multa forte Christianorum interpolationi adscribet, quam primo quidem intuitu videri poterant adscribenda."

We now give the section referred to from the tenth chapter of the will of Benjamin, first, according to the Greek books: (P) "Custodite mandata Dei, usquequo revelet Dominus salutare suum omnibus gentibus. Tunc videbitis Enoch, Noe et Sem, et Abraham et Isaac resurgentes a dextris in exultatione. Tunc et nos resurgemus, unusquisque in sceptrum nostrum, adorantes regem coelorum, qui in terra apparuit in forma humanae humilitatis. Et quotquot crediderunt ei in terra, congaudebunt ei, quando et omnes resurgent, hi quidem in gloriam, isti vero in ignominiam. Et iudicabit Dominus in primis Israel, de ea, quae in ipsum, iniustitia. Quoniam advenientem Deum in carne liberatorem non crediderunt. Et tunc iudicabit omnes gentes, quotquot non crediderunt ei in terra apparenti; et arguet in electis gentium Israel," etc.

In the Armenian this passage runs as follows: Sic vos facite usquequo revelet dominus salutare suum in omni terra omnibus gentibus. Tunc videbitis Enoch et Noe et Abraham et Isaac et Iacob. Unusquisque in sceptrum suum, adoremus Regem coelorum. Tunc et nos renovabimur, hi quidem in gloriam, isti vero in ignominiam. Quia iudicabit Dominus in primis Israel de ea iniustitia quam fecerunt in electis gentes."

Lastly we come to the famous chapter xi. of the same Testament, from which the editors have considered that Tertullian drew in his *Adv. Marcionem*, v. 1 (Vol. II.,

p. 275, Ed. Oehler). We will give it in the excellent translation of Mr. Sinkler, Introd. p. 3: "And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf, on account of your ravages, but a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. And one shall rise up from my seed in the latter times, beloved of the Lord, hearing his voice, enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, bursting in upon Israel for salvation with the light of knowledge, tearing it away from it like a wolf, and giving it to the synagogue of the Gentiles; and until the consummation of the ages shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever: and because of him my father Jacob instructed me saying, He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe." The above passage is held to contain a reference not only to St. Paul, but also to the Books of the New Testament, in which the work of St. Paul was recorded.

But of all this there is nothing in the Armenian, which corresponds merely to the following Greek: *καὶ οὐκέτι κληθήσεται μετὰ ταῦτα ληστήρχης καὶ λύκος διὰ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸς καὶ ἐργάτης εὐδοκίας στόματος αὐτοῦ.* Or in Latin thus: "Nec amplius vocabitur post haec princeps latronum et lupus propter rapinas vestras, sed amatus et creator beneplaciti oris eius." This is no more than we read in Genesis xlix. 27.

(Q) There remains one short passage in the Testament of Joseph (ch. xviii.) which deserves notice: *ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς πορευθῆτε ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Κυρίου, τέκνα μου, ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς ἐνταυθα, καὶ εὐλογήσει ἐν ἀγαθοῖς εἰς αἰῶνας. Καὶ ἐὰν θέλῃ τις κακαποῖσθαι ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς τῇ ἀγαθοποιᾷ εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ λυτρωθήσεσθε διὰ κύριον.* Here the Armenian involves: *καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν πορευθῆτε, τέκνα μου, Ἰσραὴλ Σαδαὶ δοξάσει ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑψώσει εἰς αἰῶνας.* The words *καὶ ἐὰν κ. τ. λ.*, so Christian

in their tone, are not in the Armenian. The word *Σαδαι* is Hebrew. In the same way, in Test. Jud., ch. ix., the Hebrew word *βῆθ* is introduced in the Cambridge MS., and also in the Armenian, where the word *βάδος* would have better suited the theory that the Testaments were written originally in Greek.

It is clear from the above that the Testament of Benjamin has been more freely interpolated than those of the other Patriarchs. On the other hand, its second chapter is longer in the Armenian form than in the Greek; though it must be added, a good deal of the third chapter is omitted in the Armenian, without being of a Christological nature.

We have now passed in review most of the Christological passages of the Testaments, and have seen how much of them may be reckoned to Christian or other interpolators. There remain, however, two passages, Levi, ch. xvi., and Nephthaleim, ch. iv., which are reproduced in the Armenian without much alteration. But these two passages are also, as is plain from the context, drawn from the book of Enoch. The first runs thus in the Armenian; *καὶ νῦν ἔγνων ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἐνώχ, ὅτι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομάδας πλανηθήσεσθε καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην βεβηλώσετε καὶ τὰς θυσίας μιανεῖτε καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνακαινοποιούντα νόμον ὑψίστου, πλάνον τοῦτον προσ-αγορεύσετε καὶ τὸν νόμον ἀφανίσετε καὶ λόγους προφητῶν ἐξουθενώσετε, ἐν διαστροφῇ διώξετε ἄνδρας δικαίους καὶ εὐσεβεῖς μισήσετε, ἀληθινῶν λόγους βδελύξεσθε, καὶ τέλος, ὡς νομίζω, ἀποκτενεῖτε αὐτὸν, οὐκ εἰδότες αὐτοῦ τὴν νικῆν* (but one Armenian Codex reads *τὸ πάθος*), *τὸ ἀθῶον αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐν κακίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλᾷ ὑμῶν ἀναδεχόμενοι. Δι' αὐτὸν ἔσται τὰ ἅγια ὑμῶν ἔρημα, μεμιαμμένα ἕως ἐδάφους. καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῶν τόπος καθαρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔσται εἰς κατάραν καὶ εἰς διασκορπισμὸν, ἕως αὐτὸς πάλιν ἐπισκέψηται καὶ προδέξηται ὑμᾶς ἐν πίστει καὶ ὕδατι.* In this striking passage we find the following changes in the Greek books:

(i.) The clause, *καὶ ἄνδρα το προσαγορεύσετε* is read after *βδελύξεσθε*. In any case, the build and run of the sen-

tence proves that this clause is part and parcel of what was read in the book of Enoch.

(ii.) For νομίζω is read νομίζετε. This may be a Christian alteration.

(iii.) For νίκην (or πάθος) is read τὸ ἀνάστημα (= "his majesty") a change in no way specially Christian.

(iv.) After ἐπισκέψηται καὶ is added οἰκτερήσας.

There is no reason to suppose that the whole of this passage, at least as it stands in the Armenian, was not a quotation from the book of Enoch. That it is not to be found in the Ethiopic goes for nothing, since the title, "Book of Enoch" must have stood for a large collection of Apocrypha, not all of which are in the Ethiopic version. New parts of the Book of Enoch have been recently found in old Slavonic. That the Book of Enoch was eminently Christological, we know from Tertullian *Lib. de Habitu Muliebri*, cap. 3: "Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiiciendum est, quod pertinet ad nos. Et legimus omnem Scripturam aedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari. A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere, quae Christum sonant. Nec utique mirum hoc, si Scripturas aliquas non receperunt de eo locutas, quem et ipsum coram loquentem non erant recepturi."

The other passage is in *Nepht.*, ch. iv., and in the Greek books runs thus: ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ ἀγία Ἐνώχ, ὅτι καί γε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορεύόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐθνῶν. . . . καὶ ἔσται ὅτ' ἂν ἤξουσιν ἐν γῇ πατέρων αὐτῶν, πάλιν ἐπιλάθωνται κυρίου, καὶ ἀσεβήσουσι καὶ διασπείρει αὐτοὺς κύριος ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς, ἄχρι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸ σπλάγχχνον κυρίου, ἄνθρωπος ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς πάντας τοὺς μακρὰν κοὶ τοὺς ἐγγύς. For brevity sake we have not cited the whole chapter. The Armenian reads ἀγίου for ἀγία, ἐπιλαθήσονται and διασπερεῖ, then ἄχρι τοῦ ἐλθεῖν εὐσπλαγχνία κύριον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ποιῶντα ἔλεος καὶ δίκαιοσύνην κ.τ.λ.

The context implies that the prophecy throughout is that of the Holy Enoch.

Our task is now complete, and it only remains to sum up the new evidence presented by the Armenian version of this group of apocryphs. It proves that the Testaments, as they have come down to us in the Greek MSS., have been copiously interpolated, for the most part in a Christian sense. If the original document had been from the first a Christian one, then there was no necessity to so interpolate it. The conjecture of Grabius that they were, to begin with, a purely Hebrew Apocryph, and were subsequently interpolated by Christians, is thus raised to a certainty. The only legitimate doubt that remains, is whether we have, in the Armenian version, reached the ultimate and truly Hebrew form of the document; whether, that is to say, in the text translated, the work of Christian adaptation had not already begun, *e.g.*, in the passage (D). This is possible, of course, but we may safely limit such interpolation, if we admit it at all, to a very few passages. In this connection it is remarkable that of the Messianic passages that are left in the Twelve Testaments after elimination of those which the Armenian rejects, Grabius had already in the seventeenth century been able to lay his finger upon several (*viz.*, B, F, H), and pronounce them to be not improbably the genuine utterances of a pre-Christian Jew. To other passages (*e.g.*, M, O, P), Grabius was willing to ascribe a similar origin even in their Greek form. Much more then, may we, without transgressing the limits of prudence ascribe these in their short Armenian form to the original body of the Apocryph. At the same time that the Testaments thus lose all value as an early monument of Christianity, composed between the taking of Jerusalem by Titus and the revolt of Bar-Kokheba, they gain a new value as a record of the feelings and aspirations of the Jews in the age immediately preceding Jesus Christ. What their exact date may be, we will not now try to determine; but the problem of fixing it is now much

simpler than it was so long as the true nature of the document remained obscure. The complete collation of the Armenian text with the Greek, which Mr. Sinker has kindly undertaken to add to the new edition of his book, will give some fresh data bearing on this point, for which we have not space in this paper. In conclusion the writer must express his gratitude to Mr. Sinker for the admirable array, which the previous edition of his book provides, of the readings of the Greek books, without the help of which it would often have been impossible to determine at once and accurately the particular Greek text which underlies the Armenian.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

APPENDIX.

NOTE ON THE VENICE MS. TEXT OF THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

After the above article was already in print the writer received, by the courtesy of the Reverend Father Carékin, secretary of the Mechitarist Congregation at Venice, a collation of an old MS. in the library of San Lazaro, extending over the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Joseph, and Benjamin. The text of this MS. is fundamentally the same as that of the MSS. of Edschmiadzin and Lord Zouche, but there are signs that here and there the text of it has been Christianised. In the passages above quoted from the testaments, the following differences on the part of the Venice MS. are worth recording. (A) In this passage, for *κήρυκος* implied by the MSS. of Edschmiadzin and Lord Zouche, there is implied *Χριστοῦ*. The Armenian equivalents, transliterated into Greek, are respectively *χρ*"ζι short for *χαροζι*=*κήρυκος*, and *χι* short for *χριστοσι*=*χριστοῦ*. The former is inexplicable by the latter, and must be accepted as the primitive Armenian reading. The substitution moreover of *χριστοῦ* for *κήρυκος* in this passage is one which a Christian copyist would be likely to make. The sense of the Armenian is in any case obscure, and the construction which I have rendered *ἱερατεύειν τῷ κλήρῳ* an unusual one. The literal equivalent in Greek would rather be *ἱερατεύειν τοῦ κλήρου*, which gives no sense at all.

In (B) before the sentence "Exalt not," etc., are read words equivalent to "Ex stirpe enim eius nascetur Dominus Deus"; words which are probably an Armenian interpolation, as they are absent from the Greek no less than from the other Armenian Texts.

In (C) the words "and shalt announce him who is to ransom Israel" are not in the Venice MS., nor are the equivalent words of the other

Armenian MSS. Also the whole of the last three lines of the passage, beginning with : "Saving in his own person the whole race of men," are absent from the Venice Text.

In (D) the Venice MS. agrees with the Greek Text as rendered by me into English, except that it omits the words, "and yet men . . . punishment." After which it continues—"And having thus spoken, he again spake to me : Therefore the Highest heard thy prayer and rescued thee from injustice, that thou shouldest become unto him a servant and trusty minister before his face. The Light of the Knowledge of the Lord lighteth thee, and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel. And it shall be that in the last days God shall send His Son to save the world. But thy sons shall lay hands on him," etc.

(F) This entire passage, along with what immediately precedes and nearly all that follows, is absent from the Venice MS. (G) is unaltered in the Venice Text. (H) has not been examined therein.

In (I) the Venice Text implies : "et consummabitur regnum eorum donec veniet *regnum* Israel." The other Armenian MSS. have "salutare σωτήριοιον" for "regnum." So have the Greek Texts. For the rest the Venice MS. agrees with the other Armenian MSS. in all important points. 'This is also the case as regards the passage (J).

In (K) the Venice Text supplies the words "ambulans inter homines in mansuetudine," which have dropped out of the other Armenian Texts. Otherwise it agrees with them except in adding after "patris sancti," the words "quod est Christus." These words we must regard as a gloss which has crept in from the margin. For (i.) no other Greek or Armenian Text gives them, and (ii.) they make nonsense of the passage.

The passages (M), (N), (O) and (Q) are practically the same in the Venice MS. as in the other Armenian MSS. In (P) also the Venice MS. agrees with them, omitting however the words "omnibus gentibus" after "in omni terra" and restoring the words of the quotation "tunc et nos resurgimus" which have dropped out of the other Armenian MSS. The last clause also runs according to this text as follows : "Quia indicat Dominus imprimis Israel de ea iniustitia quam fecerunt, et deinceps omnes ethnicos."

Lastly the passage quoted from Levi ch. xvi. is mutilated in the Venice Text, the words : *καὶ νῦν ἔγνω ἰν βιβλίῳ Ἐνώχ* down to *μανῦντε* being omitted. For *τὴν νικῆν* is read *τὴν δικαιοσύνην* and the final words *ἐν πίστει καὶ ὕδατι* are absent.

The net result of an examination of all these passages in the Venice Text is not therefore such as to alter or invalidate the conclusions reached in my paper.